

# EXHIBIT 14

THE KUSHNER FILES

# “IT LOOKS BAD. IT SMELLS BAD. IT IS BAD”: DEMOCRATS ARE DIGGING INTO KUSHNER’S COZY RELATIONSHIP WITH M.B.S.

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Why did Mohammed bin Salman know more about Kushner’s Saudi itinerary than the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh? And what was on those WhatsApp messages? House Democrats are in position to find out.



BY ABIGAIL TRACY

APRIL 11, 2019



BY SAUL LOEB / GETTY IMAGES.

**T**here was some confusion inside the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh before **Jared Kushner** arrived in Saudi Arabia in February. Washington was still reeling from the grisly murder of Jamal Khashoggi, which had thrown an unexpected wrench into an already tense U.S.-Saudi relationship, and diplomats were still navigating the aftershocks. Ordinarily, embassy staff would be intimately involved in organizing the details of such a trip. But Kushner's schedule with Saudi Crown Prince **Mohammed bin Salman** was largely a mystery. In fact, a source familiar with the planning told me, the royal court, not the U.S. Embassy, was arranging Kushner's itinerary. According to the source, an embassy notetaker was also not present in Kushner's meetings with King **Salman** and the crown prince, nor was the embassy briefed on what the president's son-in-law discussed behind closed doors.

The semi-surreptitious visit is the most recent of several remarkable episodes involving Kushner that are now being investigated by congressional Democrats. Their guiding hypothesis is that Kushner's diplomatic naïveté and close relationship with bin Salman, better known as M.B.S., might put U.S. national security at risk. "I'm not only troubled—I am stunned by the friendship," Massachusetts Congressman **Jim McGovern** told me. "It looks bad. It smells bad. It is bad."

The Kushner-M.B.S. bromance, which has been a source of intrigue and consternation dating back to the earliest days of **Donald Trump's** presidency, is of particular interest to Congressman **Eliot Engel**, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. At the end of last month, Engel [sent a letter](#) to Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** requesting documents and records related to Kushner's February trip to Saudi Arabia, including any "handwritten notes" related to any meetings attended by **Brian Hook**, the sole State Department official included in Kushner's delegation. The goal, a congressional staffer told me, is to glean any insight into what Kushner discussed with M.B.S. and other foreign officials.

The State Department missed the deadline this past Friday to provide the information and documents requested by the committee, according to the first congressional source. In [a statement](#) to the Daily Beast, which first reported that the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh had been left in the dark about Kushner's trip, a senior administration official said, "This reporting is not true, and the sources are misinformed."

On Capitol Hill, however, concerns about Kushner's diplomatic freelancing are widespread. "I think people deal with him because he is the president's son-in-law," a second congressional aide told me. But that familial back channel to Trump also leaves the U.S. government vulnerable. As *The New York Times* has [reported](#), M.B.S. marked Kushner early on as a potentially malleable asset for advancing Saudi interests in Washington. "[Trump's] inner circle is predominantly deal makers who lack familiarity with political customs and deep institutions, and they support Jared Kushner," a delegation of Saudi officials, sent to the U.S. in November 2016, wrote in a [slide presentation](#) obtained by the Lebanese newspaper *Al Akhbar*. The Saudi crown prince later boasted that he had Kushner "in his pocket," [according](#) to the Intercept.

"No one is impressed that he is friends with M.B.S. No one cares. It is a bad thing," the second congressional aide said, adding that Kushner's trust in the crown prince makes him look "completely out of his depth." Shortly after Kushner's first surprise trip to Saudi Arabia, for instance, in [October 2017](#), M.B.S. initiated a sweeping crackdown on his political rivals, imprisoning [more than 30](#) Saudi elites at the Ritz-Carlton, reportedly [torturing](#) some of them, and [allegedly kidnapping](#) Lebanese Prime Minister **Saad Hariri**. (The Saudi government has denied allegations of torture and abuse during the "anti-corruption proceedings.") Defenders of the U.S.-Saudi alliance, including Kushner, Trump, and [Pompeo](#), argue that these are the realpolitik costs of containing Iran and resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But critics of the administration say the White House is getting played. "[A relationship with M.B.S.] does not mean that you are going to be the guy who is going to bring Middle East peace," the congressional aide said. "It is an embarrassment."

As is the case with his father-in-law, Kushner's reluctance to provide a window into his interactions with M.B.S. has raised questions as to what, if anything, he may be trying to hide. Some Democrats have pointed to Kushner family businesses, including [Thrive Capital](#) and [Cadre](#), that courted Saudi money. Others have highlighted financial entanglements, including the Kushner family's underwater mortgage on 666 Fifth Avenue, which was bailed out by a [Qatari-connected](#) asset-management company in August. In its sweeping [document request](#) to 81 individuals, agencies, and entities [earlier this year](#), the House Judiciary Committee included a request for Kushner to provide information related to his business interests. Last week, House lawmakers launched an investigation into how Kushner obtained a high-level security clearance after reportedly being red-flagged for "[significant disqualifying factors](#)" on his résumé.

“This all comes back to giant questions about the president and his family and his business’s conflicts of interest, and to what end policy decisions are being made—whether it is to advance American interests or some other interests,” the first congressional aide told me. “There is this total lack of transparency and lack of understanding about what he is doing, how he is doing it, what his charge is—you know, you name it. He is like an ambassador without a portfolio.”

House Democrats are particularly worried that some of the conversations between Kushner and M.B.S. may have occurred outside of official channels, not only breaking protocol, but potentially leaving the U.S. exposed to unknown security threats. Congressman **Elijah Cummings**, the chairman of the House Oversight Committee, revealed in [a letter](#) last month that his panel is investigating whether Kushner may have violated the Presidential Records Act by using the encrypted messaging platform WhatsApp to communicate with foreign leaders. (The White House did not respond to a request for comment.)

As I have [previously](#) reported, Kushner’s use of WhatsApp to communicate with M.B.S. has been a point of contention within the administration. According to one former administration official, **H.R. McMaster**, Trump’s former national-security adviser, raised his concerns with Kushner, who eventually began providing screenshots of his conversations with M.B.S. Even after Kushner made this shift, however, it was still unclear whether he was providing the entirety of the conversations to the National Security Council. “I don’t think it was their entire conversation. He would selectively send things,” the official explained, noting that Kushner may have just been providing exchanges of substance. “You would see the screenshots. You would see that there were things above and below it that you hadn’t seen earlier. So it is definitely not all-encompassing . . . Undoubtedly, it would be beneficial to the U.S. government to have a full picture of how these conversations were going.”

Few Democrats are inclined to give Kushner the benefit of the doubt. “I don’t trust this president, or anybody who works with him. These people lie every single day—and multiple times a day. I wouldn’t trust them to tell me the correct time, never mind turn over screenshots of what was sent to the Saudi crown prince or anybody else,” Congressman McGovern told me. “I think their M.O. is to do things that are wrong and inappropriate, and lie about it. And if they get found out, they lie about it even more.”

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**Abigail Tracy** is a national political reporter at *Vanity Fair*.

# EXHIBIT 15

# The Guardian

This article is more than 1 year old

## The heart of the US-Saudi relationship lies in the Kushner-prince friendship

*Mohamad Bazzi*

As Democrats unravel the many ways the administration has been beholden to Saudi Arabia, Kushner's role is particularly troubling

Sun 10 Mar 2019 06.00 EDT



The new Democratic majority in Congress is unraveling the many ways that Donald Trump's administration has been beholden to Saudi Arabia since its earliest days. In a report last month that got lost in the crush of other news, House Democrats detailed how top Trump administration officials, including Michael Flynn and Jared Kushner, pushed to provide the Saudi government with technology to build nuclear power plants. That could put Saudi Arabia on the path to developing nuclear weapons, and further destabilize the Middle East.

Kushner's role is particularly troubling because, as the president's son-in-law and senior adviser, he has cultivated and shored up the relationship between Trump and the ruthless Saudi crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman. The Kushner-Prince Mohammed friendship is at the heart of the US-Saudi relationship today, and it's one reason that Trump has tried to shield the crown prince from blame for the murder of the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi. Trump and Kushner, both used to shady real estate deals, adapted quickly to Saudi Arabia's system of patronage and clientelism: unwavering support from the Trump administration for the promise of weapons sales and other business deals.

The project to sell nuclear power plants to Saudi Arabia began in late 2016, during the presidential transition, when a group of retired US generals and national security officials coalesced around Flynn, Trump's first national security adviser. Even after Flynn was fired in February 2017, other White House officials revived the plan, despite objections from administration lawyers who worried that the proposal could violate US laws intended to stop nuclear proliferation. And the idea is still alive: Trump met last month with the CEOs of several private nuclear power companies who sought his help in building power plants in the Middle East.

While most attention has been focused on Flynn's role, Kushner is entangled in several conflicts of interest around the Saudi project, according to the 24-page report from the House oversight and reform committee. One of the potential beneficiaries of a Saudi nuclear deal is Westinghouse Electric, which is owned by a subsidiary of Brookfield Asset Management, a real estate company that recently bailed out Kushner and his family's company in their ill-fated, \$1.8bn purchase of a Manhattan office tower at 666 Fifth Avenue.

The alliance between Kushner and Prince Mohammed has consequences for US policy: Trump ignored a deadline last month to submit a report to Congress on whether the crown prince was personally responsible for Khashoggi's murder and dismemberment at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, as US intelligence agencies concluded. But like Trump's previous attempts to shield the prince from blame for Khashoggi's killing, this one will backfire. By defending Prince Mohammed so strongly, Trump has made the crisis worse and has emboldened a tougher response in Congress.

Soon after Trump was elected, the Saudi crown prince and his advisers targeted Kushner as their gateway into Trump's inner circle. They realized that Kushner was vulnerable because of his business dealings, lack of knowledge of the Middle East and eagerness to negotiate a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. Trump's "inner circle is predominantly dealmakers who lack familiarity with political customs and deep institutions, and they support Jared Kushner", a delegation of Saudi officials sent to the US by Prince Mohammed in November 2016 wrote in a presentation that was later published by the Lebanese newspaper Al Akhbar.

The Saudis hooked Kushner on that visit, and by March 2017 he had arranged a formal lunch for Trump and Prince Mohammed at the White House, where the prince received a grand reception normally reserved for heads of state. Kushner then convinced Trump to make Saudi Arabia the first stop of his maiden foreign trip as president in May 2017. By that point, the Saudis realized that Trump craved flattery and respect, and they gave him an extravagant welcome with multiple banquets and displays of fealty. It's no surprise that Prince Mohammed later boasted, according to the Intercept, that Kushner was "in his pocket" and had provided information about rivals in the Saudi royal family.

Kushner has been particularly vulnerable because of his family's purchase of the tower at 666 Fifth Avenue in 2007, at the height of the real estate market that crashed a year later. For the past two years, Kushner Companies has been negotiating for a bailout on the property with investors from China and Qatar, who had close ties to both governments. But those deals collapsed as investors worried about the extra scrutiny generated by Kushner's role in the White House.

Last spring, Kushner Companies reached a tentative deal with Brookfield Asset Management, which is one of the world's largest real estate companies, for a 99-year lease on the troubled office tower. At the same time as Brookfield's property arm was making its deal with the Kushners, another Brookfield unit announced its \$4.6bn purchase of Westinghouse Electric, a bankrupt nuclear services company that was part of the consortium vying to build power plants in Saudi Arabia.

That purchase needed the approval of the Trump administration: it was subject to review by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, which includes senior officials from nine US government agencies. The deal required US approval because Canadian-based Brookfield is a foreign company that was seeking to buy an American firm in the nuclear industry. In the past, the committee required some foreign companies to abandon or make changes in their proposed deals. But Brookfield's takeover of Westinghouse Electric was approved, and the deal closed on 1 August.

On 3 August, Brookfield's property unit announced it had closed its deal with Kushner Companies and that it would be paying the rent for the entire 99-year lease upfront: an infusion of about \$1.1bn that would help the Kushners pay off a large portion of \$1.4bn in mortgages due in February 2019. Without a deal, those looming mortgage payments could have forced the Kushners to sell the Fifth Avenue tower at a significant loss.

It's unclear if Kushner's business interests played a role in the US approval of Brookfield's acquisition of a nuclear company. But these conflicts underline the Trump administration's entire approach to Saudi Arabia and its allies. With his blind support for the reckless crown prince, Trump has dropped the pretense that the US-Saudi alliance is more than a transactional arrangement based on oil, weapons deals and some perceived security interests.

On 16 October, the same day that the secretary of state, Mike Pompeo, arrived in Riyadh to meet with the Saudi king and crown prince over Khashoggi's fate, Saudi officials deposited \$100m in funds that had been pledged to the Trump administration in August to help stabilize parts of Syria liberated from the Islamic State. American diplomats were unsure when the money would arrive until it suddenly appeared in US accounts.

The timing of the funds was a signal to Trump in the deal-making language he understands: the kingdom would continue to honor its financial promises and business commitments to the United States if Trump cooperates in the crisis precipitated by Khashoggi's murder. Saudi leaders conveyed to Trump - and Kushner - that they too value family loyalty and financial interests above all else.

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## Topics

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# EXHIBIT 16

# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## Power Up: Jared Kushner's Middle East diplomacy could help him after he leaves the White House

By **Jacqueline Alemany**

Dec. 3, 2020 at 5:39 a.m. CST

*with Brent D. Griffiths*

*It's Thursday. Tips, comments, recipes? You know where to find me. Thanks for waking up with us and tell your friends to sign up.*

### The people

**WHERE'S JARED?:** This week might be the last time President Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner meets with Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in his official capacity as a senior White House adviser, capping an intimate four-year relationship between "two young princes" that's raised eyebrows of members of the national security establishment.

Kushner's trip to Saudi Arabia and Qatar is a final effort before President-elect Joe Biden assumes office "to secure more diplomatic agreements in the Middle East before the Trump administration leaves office in January, according to U.S. and Gulf officials," according to the Wall Street Journal's Dion Nissenbaum and Summer Said.

Saudi Arabia agreed to allow "Israeli airliners cross its airspace en route to the United Arab Emirates" after talks with Kushner, as reported by Reuters' Steve Holland. But experts told Power Up it's unlikely that Kushner's long-shot diplomatic effort this week will result in its goal of a major breakthrough in solving the years-long rift between Qatar and its other neighbors in the Gulf, including Riyadh.

**Yet it could benefit Kushner personally as he is poised to leave the White House, since such a trip puts his close personal relationships with world leaders on full display.**

Kushner's friendship with MBS has been the subject of scrutiny and fascination over the course of the administration — from their 4 a.m. nights together "swapping stories and planning strategy" to their private communications on WhatsApp. And the agreement Kushner helped broker that normalized relations between Israel and three Arab states earlier this fall was hailed even by Trump critics, even as an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal eluded him.

Aaron David Miller, a senior fellow at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, told Power Up that Kushner made it "unmistakably clear" in their discussions about issues in the region in 2017 and 2018 that he and Trump planned "to develop what he described as strategic and personal relationships with the Saudis and Emirates."

- “I guarantee you this will not be the last trip he’ll take to Saudi Arabia,” said Miller, a former State Department Middle East analyst and negotiator. “These are extremely important relationships to cultivate if you are interested in making money and continuing a relevant role in the Arab-Israeli state issue — which I’m sure he is.”
- “I find it very hard to believe that this [trip] is about Qatar,” Bruce Riedel, a former CIA officer and senior fellow and director of the Brookings Intelligence Project, told Power Up. “I suspect there are other reasons for this — that the Trump-MBS family relationship is going to outlast January 21 and they are looking to cement that.”

Before joining the White House, Kushner served as a chief executive of his family's real estate empire. **Several former associates suspect that he could return to the real estate industry once he leaves the White House — but with a broadened, global focus.** The White House did not comment on Kushner's next steps.

- “There's [Kushner's] family business and what ways there are to add to that — and then investments he always did with [his brother],” a source close to the couple told Power Up of potential future options for Kushner. “He has access to more capital because the relationships he developed in Middle East are significant,” the source said, but noted it's still unclear if that will change the family's strategic approach.
- The connections they made from their White House positions will only help Kushner and Ivanka Trump, the president's daughter and senior adviser, in their next moves, a former White House official tells Power Up. “The relationships they now have with people like MBS? Don't take them lightly. They will continue whatever they built, move on and travel and be a part of this global enterprise.”
- “Kushner is unlikely to feel satisfied by his family's own real estate business unless he took it more global, said allies of the couple,” Politico's Meridith McGraw and Nancy Cook reported in November.

**Kushner retained a financial stake and partial ownership in his family's real estate company**, along with other business ventures while working for the president. As Kushner assumed high-profile roles in negotiations and meetings with foreign countries like Saudi Arabia and China, his family continued to solicit money from investors overseas for real estate ventures and highlighted their ties to him as they wooed investors.

- In 2017, for example, the New York Times reported that “Kushner's sister Nicole Meyer made a pitch to attract \$150 million in financing for a Jersey City housing development, known as One Journal Square, to more than 100 Chinese investors gathered at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Beijing.”
- **Why this matters:** “While he relinquished day-to-day control of the company, the arrangement has drawn criticism from government ethics experts, who say it opens the doors to conflicts of interest and possible influence from foreign entities,” per our colleagues Michelle Ye Hee Lee and Any Narayanswamy.
- **And once Trump leaves the White House, he is “expected to do something no president before him has done: cut multimillion dollar deals with foreign governments and companies for his own private business,”** Anita Kumar reports for Politico this week. “Trump's

namesake company plans to resume foreign real estate projects, likely luxury hotels, as it grapples with a tarnished brand in the United States and the need to pay off hundreds of millions of dollars of debt, according to three people familiar with the plans, not to mention past public statements from Trump's children."

**CHANGES AFOOT FOR SAUDI: The changing of power in Washington may bring a political realignment for Saudi Arabia, which will soon be dealing with a new U.S. president who described the country as a “pariah” on the debate stage.**

- Biden has vowed to take crack down on Saudi Arabia's human-rights record and called for an end to U.S. support for the Saudi led war in Yemen. He's also been highly critical of Trump's response toward Saudi leaders following the assassination of Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi.

**In an interview this week with the New York Times's Thomas Friedman, Biden also reaffirmed his willingness to return to the Iran deal and end Trump's sanctions on Iran, a longtime regional adversary of Saudi Arabia.** Top Saudi leaders applauded Trump's decision to withdraw the U.S. from the international nuclear agreement at the time.

- “**I think there will be a real chill between the U.S. and MBS — I think it'll be more like a frozen tundra,**” Riedel added of when Trump and Kushner leave the White House. “And we can afford to do that particularly with the price of oil at \$45 a barrel — what do we need Saudi Arabia for? And especially if you're the climate change president, you need them even less.”

**But there are already signs that MBS is looking past the Trumps and toward the new reality.** Secretary of State Mike Pompeo met with Israeli Prime Minister Benhamin Netanyahu and MBS in Saudi Arabia last week, in hopes that a normalization deal would be reached between the two rivals. However, MBS "pulled back from a deal, according to the Saudi advisors and U.S. officials, largely because of the U.S. election result," the Wall Street Journal's Summer Said, Stephen Kalin and Dion Nissenbaum report.

- "Saudi aides said the prince, eager to build ties with the incoming administration of President-elect Joe Biden, was reluctant to take the step now, when he could use a deal later to help cement relations with the new American leader."

## In the agencies

**TRUMP MULLS FIRING BARR:** “The president remained livid at Attorney General William P. Barr with one senior administration official indicating there was a chance Barr could be fired — not just for his public comments undercutting Trump's unfounded claims of election-shifting fraud, but also for steps he did not take on a probe of the FBI's 2016 investigation into Trump's campaign,” Matt Zapotosky, Josh Dawsey and Devlin Barrett report.

- **Aides are trying to convince Trump not to ax his AG** “One senior administration official said there was a chance Trump would fire his attorney general and asserted that the president was not merely frustrated over Barr’s fraud-related assertions. The person said that several people are trying to persuade Trump not to do so.”

- “Trump, the official said, was perhaps even angrier that Connecticut U.S. Attorney John Durham did not issue a public report of his findings before last month’s election, and that Barr had secretly appointed

Durham as special counsel in October, giving him extra legal and political protection to continue the work he started a year ago. Durham is examining whether crimes were committed by law enforcement during its 2016 investigation of whether Trump’s campaign coordinated with Russia.”

### **The White House refused to give Barr stout support:**

**The relationship has been declining for a while now:** “One official said the two had barely spoken in recent months, as the president was frustrated by the attorney general’s not releasing any findings of Durham’s investigation before the election and not taking more aggressive steps to back his claims of election fraud,” our colleagues write.

- “Barr met Tuesday with White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, but it is unclear what they discussed.”

## **At the White House**

**THE CONSPIRACIES ARE COMING FROM INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE:** “Escalating his attack on democracy from within the White House, Trump distributed an astonishing 46-minute video rant filled with baseless allegations of voter fraud and outright falsehoods in which he declared the nation’s election system ‘under coordinated assault and siege’ and argued that it was ‘statistically impossible’ for him to have lost to Biden,” Philip Rucker reports.

- **A concession does not seem imminent:** “Any hope that the president might be slowly coming to grips with his loss and accepting the fact that Biden will be sworn in as president on Jan. 20 was dashed by his combative and emphatic tone, which amounted to a call to arms to his supporters. The fight is paying dividends so far, with Trump’s political operation using a blizzard of misleading appeals to supporters to raise more than \$170 million since Election Day on Nov. 3.”

## **On the Hill**

**DEMS MOVE ON RELIEF PLAN:** “The top Democratic congressional leaders embraced a \$908 billion coronavirus relief framework — a massive concession meant to prod Trump and Senate Republicans into accepting a compromise,” Mike DeBonis, Jeff Stein and Seung Min Kim report.

- **Efforts have been stalled for months:** “Wednesday’s announcement by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer appeared to be the first time that leaders from one party agreed to back a proposal that had substantial support of members of the other party. And the willingness

**It's does not appear McConnell will support the plan:** “The ‘emergency relief framework’ released by the bipartisan group on Tuesday is light on details but outlines how to allocate \$908 billion for struggling small businesses, state and local governments, and other parts of the economy hurt by covid-19, the disease caused by the virus,” our colleagues write.

- **Many areas still need to be worked out:** “The package would fund federal supplement unemployment benefits of \$300 per week for millions of jobless Americans. That assistance would cover at least from January until the end of March for the unemployed, according to one person familiar with the group’s work. No decision has been made yet on whether the benefits would retroactively cover the several prior months during which unemployment benefits have not been paid.”
- **But at least one more Republican senator signed on:** Sen. Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.) said she would back it.

## The transition

**WHO WILL BE BIDEN'S PANDEMIC CZAR?:** “One contender for Biden’s coronavirus coordinator, envisioned as a powerful role in setting the agenda and orchestrating the work of federal agencies, is **Jeff Zients**, a co-chairman of the Biden transition team who led the Obama administration’s National Economic Council. Another is **Vivek H. Murthy**, a co-chair of the transition’s covid-19 advisory board and a former U.S. Surgeon General,” Amy Goldstein and Toluse Olorunnipa report.

**HHS secretary:** “Within Biden’s camp, the thinking appears to be evolving as to who should lead the Department of Health and Human Services, a sprawling department with moving parts crucial to bringing the pandemic under control,” our colleagues write.

- **Who's leading now:** “Murthy has been considered for that role, while **New Mexico Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham** (D), had been considered a leading candidate although she is said to be out of the running. She has the emphatic support of Latino organizations and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus.”

## The campaign

**PERDUE'S STOCK TRADES CONTINUE TO HAUNT HIM:** “An examination of Perdue’s stock trading during his six years in office reveals that he has been the Senate’s most prolific stock trader by far, sometimes reporting 20 or

- **The frequency of the Georgia Republican's moves are staggering:** "His 2,596 trades, mostly in stocks but also in bonds and funds, roughly equal the combined trading volume of the next five most active traders in the Senate."

**And once again, there's another potential conflict of interest:** As a member of the Senate cybersecurity subcommittee, Perdue has raised concerns about overseas hackers, the Times reports. "Not only was the issue important to Perdue, so was FireEye, a federal contractor that provides malware detection and threat-intelligence services. Beginning in 2016, the senator bought and sold FireEye stock 61 times, at one point owning as much as \$250,000 worth of shares in the company."

## Outside the Beltway

**TWO MORE GRIM MILESTONES:** "The United States counted more than 200,000 coronavirus cases in a day for the first time, while the number of people currently battling the virus in hospitals went over the 100,000 mark. This comes as the country is heading into what is predicted to be a difficult winter in the midst of the pandemic and flu season," Meryl Kornfield and Jacqueline Dupree report.

## In the media

**Lawmakers call Trump's defense bill veto threat:** "Trump is headed toward a veto showdown with Congress, as the White House doubles down on Trump's promise to scuttle a \$740 billion defense bill unless it opens the door for new, unrelated sanctions against Silicon Valley — his second threat to kill the must-pass legislation," Karoun Demirjian and Tony Romm report.

- "With most leading Republicans and Democrats firmly united in their opposition to Trump's demands, the president is waging an uphill battle that, if nobody blinks, could result in the first veto override of his presidency."

**Pompeo keeps on partying:** "Following a sharp spike in coronavirus cases across the country, State Department leadership sent out a notice to employees one week ago recommending that 'any non-mission critical events' be changed to 'virtual events as opposed to in-person gatherings,'" John Hudson reports.

- **But not every event is created equal:** "That same week, U.S. event planners were told that the guidance did not apply to the upcoming functions they were working on: large indoor holiday parties hosted by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and his wife, Susan, on the eighth floor of the State Department involving hundreds of guests, food and drinks."

## Viral

**END OF AN ERA:** John Wall is no longer a Washington Wizard, Ben Golliver and Ava Wallace report.

- “The Wizards agreed to trade Wall to the Houston Rockets for Russell Westbrook, ending the five-time all-star point guard’s 10-year run with the franchise. The deal, which comes after rumored trade requests by both Wall and Westbrook in recent weeks, also includes a protected first-round pick going from Washington to Houston.”

A former No. 1 pick, Wall forged a connection with the city:

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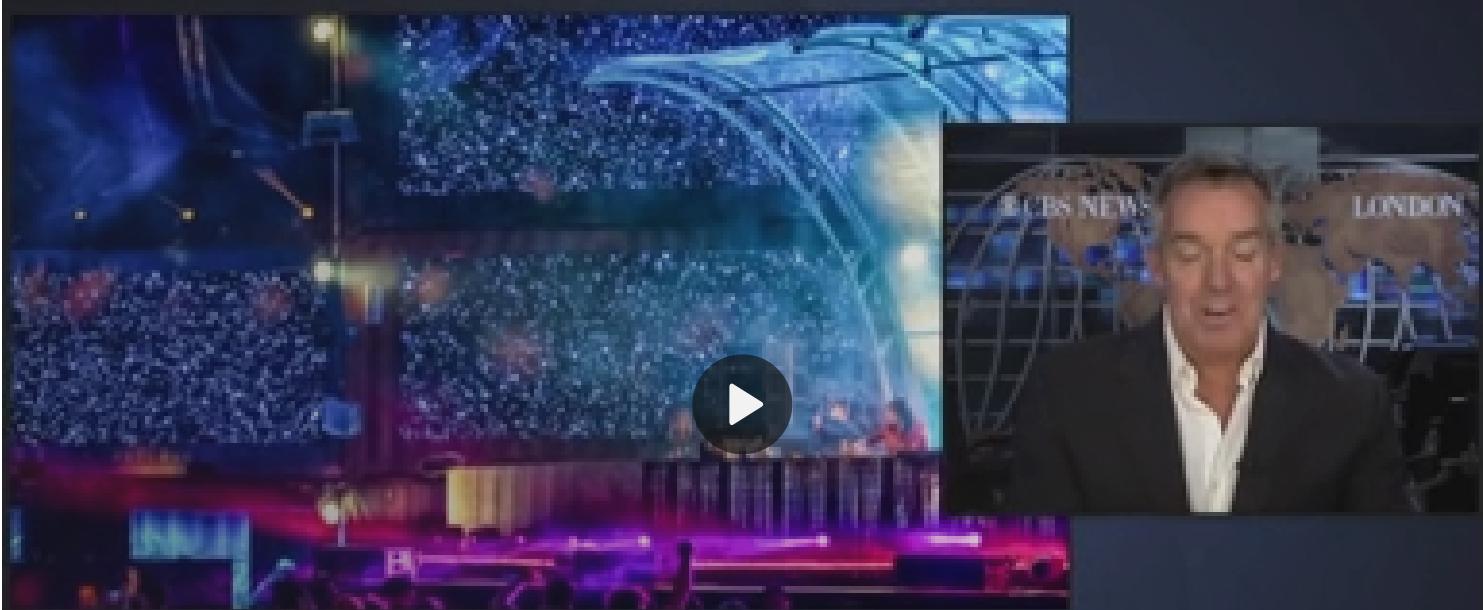
# EXHIBIT 17



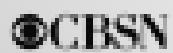
# Lawmakers push for declassification of intelligence on Khashoggi murder

BY OLIVIA GAZIS

MARCH 3, 2020 / 5:11 PM / CBS NEWS

**SAUDI ARABIA SENTENCES FIVE TO DEATH IN KHASHOGGI MURDER**

COMES AFTER KINGDOM FLEW INFLUENCERS TO RIYADH FOR MUSIC FESTIVAL PROMOTING REFORMIST IMAGE



*Washington* – Lawmakers are pressuring the U.S. intelligence community to publicly identify the individuals it has assessed were involved in the 2018 murder of Saudi dissident and Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi, calling on the Director of National Intelligence to declassify parts of a recent document they say would inform the public without compromising intelligence sources and methods.

A law passed in December mandated that the Office of the Director of National

intelligence (ODNI) submit to Congress a report on Khashoggi's death that included "a list of foreign persons that the Director of National Intelligence has high confidence ... were responsible for, or complicit in ... an act or acts contributing to or causing the death of Kamal Khashoggi."

The report "shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include a classified annex," one key section of the law reads.

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In late February, ODNI wrote to several House and Senate congressional committees to say neither a public list nor other assessment would be forthcoming.

"Consistent with the protection of sources and methods, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence cannot provide additional information ... at the unclassified level," ODNI [wrote in a letter](#) to the Senate Intelligence Committee that was obtained by CBS News. "Nonetheless, we are transmitting under separate cover a classified annex that supplements this letter with additional information."

In a news conference on Tuesday alongside Khashoggi's fiancée, Democratic Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon, who sits on the Senate Intelligence Committee, said he would move forward with invoking a multi-step Senate process to have ~~some of the information made available to the committee publicly released. That~~

some of the information made available to the committee publicly released. That process has never been seen through to completion.

"It has now been a year and five months since [Khashoggi] was brutally murdered by the Saudis," Wyden said. "That is far too long to wait for the truth." He accused the Trump administration of orchestrating a "cover-up" to spare Saudi officials embarrassment.

Hatice Cengiz, slain Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi's fiancée, stands alongside Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon during a press conference on Capitol Hill on March 3, 2020.

SAUL LOEB/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

Wyden also said that the Intelligence Committee Chairman Richard Burr, a Republican of North Carolina, and Vice Chairman Mark Warner, Democrat of Virginia, had written a joint letter to ODNI urging that more information about the circumstances of Khashoggi's murder be declassified.

"I think that's fine," Wyden said, but indicated he wanted to take further steps to ensure additional disclosures to the public. He did not directly address questions about Republican support for using the Senate mechanism he planned to invoke.

House Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam Schiff, Democrat of California, also wrote last week to Acting DNI Richard Grenell to specifically request the declassification of the annex, which Schiff said could be publicly released "with appropriate redaction."

"[T]here is a robust body of credible unclassified reporting ... related to the killing of Mr. Khashoggi," Schiff wrote, pointing to a U.N. report released last year that said there was "credible evidence" that Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, known as MBS, and other senior Saudi officials were responsible for Khashoggi's death.

"The Committee, therefore, does not foresee that any harm to U.S. national security would result from immediately declassifying the findings contained in DNI's classified annex, with redactions as necessary," Schiff wrote.

A U.S. official familiar with the contents of the annex confirmed that the document names MBS in connection with Khashoggi's murder. The Washington Post first reported on the annex's contents.

The CIA assessed that the crown prince ordered Khashoggi's killing, though no direct evidence immediately arose linking MBS to Khashoggi's death, U.S. officials confirmed to CBS News in 2018. Saudi officials have consistently denied Mohammed knew of the plot.

In 2018, the U.S. issued sanctions on 17 Saudi individuals it alleged were involved in Khashoggi's death, through neither MBS nor a top Saudi official implicated in the murder by Saudi Arabia's top prosecutor was on that list. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has said several times that the U.S. would hold the individuals responsible for the killing accountable.

President Trump has resisted blaming MBS for any part of the plot and called Saudi Arabia a "spectacular ally." He vetoed three resolutions passed last year by Congress to stop arms sales to the Kingdom.

A prominent critic of the crown prince, Khashoggi was killed at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul on October 2, 2018. In a closed trial last year, Saudi Arabia charged 11 individuals with the murder, issuing death sentences for five of them. None were identified publicly.

An ODNI spokesperson said Tuesday the agency believed its response in February had already satisfied Congress' requests and maintained it could not make intelligence about the matter public.

"That is something that cannot be done without jeopardizing sources and methods," the spokesperson said. "The Intelligence Community has a legal and moral obligation to protect classified information and ensure sources and methods are not jeopardized."

Democratic Congressman Tom Malinowski of New Jersey, who appeared alongside Wyden at Tuesday's event, pushed back on ODNI's justification.

"That's not enough under the law to simply assert that this would be bad for our national security or would compromise sources and methods. You have to explain why, and how," Malinowski said.

"You can name somebody – you can say, 'You are responsible for this crime' – without revealing the methods that you may have used to determine that responsibility," he said. "That's not an excuse, and they know it."

*First published on March 3, 2020 / 5:11 PM*

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# EXHIBIT 18

# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## Lawmakers want the DNI to make public the intelligence community's assessment of who's responsible for killing Jamal Khashoggi

By **Ellen Nakashima**

March 3, 2020 at 8:48 a.m. CST

Senior lawmakers want the intelligence community to make public what its officials have been willing to say only in classified settings: that Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman was responsible for the death of Jamal Khashoggi, a Washington Post contributing columnist and regime critic.

The Republican chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Democratic vice chairman sent a letter Monday to Richard Grenell, the acting director of national intelligence, urging him to reconsider his agency's decision not to declassify information related to the brutal killing in October 2018 of Khashoggi, a U.S. resident at the time of his death in the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul.

The previously undisclosed letter was sent by Sens. Richard Burr (R-N.C.) and Mark R. Warner (D-Va.). At the same time, Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) is moving to invoke a rarely used legislative procedure that would enable the Senate to release the requested material if it is deemed in the public interest.

"It has been more than a year since agents of the Saudi government murdered Jamal Khashoggi . . . in Turkey," Wyden said in a statement to The Post. "And yet the Trump administration refuses to publicly acknowledge who ordered that assassination. It is choosing to protect an authoritarian government."

The three are among a number of lawmakers calling on the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) to make public its private assessment of responsibility for Khashoggi's death.

President Trump, who has established a close working relationship with the leadership of Saudi Arabia, has been reluctant to publicly blame the crown prince — the country's de facto leader — for the killing, which sparked global outrage.

In December, Congress passed a law requiring the director of national intelligence within 30 days to provide an unclassified report identifying those who carried out, participated in or were otherwise responsible for the death of Khashoggi, who was probably suffocated and then dismembered, according to intelligence assessments of a recording of the incident. A separate provision allowed for a classified annex.

Last month, shortly after Trump replaced acting DNI Joseph Maguire with Grenell, the ODNI sent its report to Congress, according to U.S. officials.

"The response said simply that ODNI would not provide any unclassified information," Wyden said. "A total and

The classified annex, however, made clear what CIA Director Gina Haspel and other officials have briefed to lawmakers in classified sessions — that Mohammed played a direct role in Khashoggi's killing, according to three U.S. officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the information remains secret.

ODNI "has no specific detail to offer" concerning its response, a spokesperson said in a statement, adding that the office believes the report meets Congress's requirement. "The [intelligence community] has consistently provided our oversight committees with all relevant intelligence," the statement said. "This particular request asks us to make that intelligence available to the public. That is something that cannot be done without jeopardizing sources and methods."

The spokesperson stressed that the ODNI's decision not to declassify any information was "following the recommendation of nonpartisan career intelligence officials."

There is no reason that the information should be classified, Rep. Adam B. Schiff (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, said in a letter last week to Grenell. He noted that "there is a robust body of credible unclassified reporting" regarding Khashoggi's killing, including a report issued in June by the United Nations special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions. Thus, the committee does not anticipate that any harm to national security would result from declassifying the findings, with redactions as necessary, he said.

"Failure to declassify the annex and produce an unclassified report could give rise to concerns that ODNI is using the classification process impermissibly in order to shield information of intense public interest from public release," Schiff said.

A public attribution by the government is important in setting foreign policy, other lawmakers said. "It's highly relevant to decisions we need to make about our relationship with Saudi Arabia — a debate that requires public input," said Rep. Tom Malinowski (D-N.J.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a State Department official in the Obama administration. "Therefore, it should absolutely be declassified."

He noted that there are "authorities and requirements" in U.S. law to sanction people when the secretary of state has credible evidence that they have committed serious human rights abuses.

"Now that the administration has formally determined and reported to Congress who was likely responsible for this crime, I believe they are obligated to sanction those people under the relevant authorities," he said.

Malinowski and Wyden noted that there has been strong bipartisan support in Congress calling for accountability for Khashoggi's death.

At a news conference Tuesday, Hatice Cengiz, Khashoggi's fiancee, who was waiting for him outside the Saudi consulate on the day he was killed, joined Wyden and Malinowski's demand to release the report. "It has been 518 days since my future husband, Jamal . . . walked into the Saudi consulate in Istanbul and never came out. It has been 518 days we have been denied the truth."

Michael De Dora, Washington advocacy director for the Committee to Protect Journalists, said at the news conference that the killing violated both U.S. and international law. "Continued inaction by the U.S. government sends a message

to the Saudis that the United States will tolerate this behavior," he said.

The ODNI submission to Congress also included a list of other people who were involved in Khashoggi's killing. Some of these people were placed on the [Treasury Department's sanctions list](#) in November 2018 for having a role in the death. They were designated pursuant to an executive order targeting perpetrators of serious human rights abuse and corruption.

The report, as required by the National Defense Authorization Act, was delivered to the Senate and House intelligence panels and both chambers' foreign affairs committees.

*Shane Harris contributed to this report.*

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# EXHIBIT 19

OCTOBER 10, 2018

## CORKER, MENENDEZ, GRAHAM, LEAHY LETTER TRIGGERS GLOBAL MAGNITSKY INVESTIGATION INTO DISAPPEARANCE OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI

WASHINGTON - In a letter to President Donald J. Trump, U.S. Senators Bob Corker (R-Tenn.) and Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), chairman and ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) and Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), chairman and ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs, today triggered an investigation and Global Magnitsky sanctions determination regarding the disappearance of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist and columnist for The Washington Post. Khashoggi has not been heard from since he entered a Saudi consulate in Istanbul last Tuesday afternoon. The letter was also signed by Senators Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), Ben Cardin (D-Md.), John Barrasso (R-Wyo.), Chris Murphy (D-Conn.), Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), Tim Kaine (D-Va.), Cory Gardner (R-Colo.), Ed Markey (D-Mass.), Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.), Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.), Todd Young (R-Ind.), Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.), Rob Portman (R-Ohio), Cory Booker (D-N.J.), Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), Chris Coons (D-Del.), Jim Risch (R-Idaho), and Tom Udall (D-N.M.).

*Text of the letter is included below.*

Dear Mr. President:

The Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act requires the President, upon receipt of a request from the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to determine whether a foreign person is responsible for an extrajudicial killing, torture, or other gross violation of internationally recognized human rights against an individual exercising freedom of expression, and report to the Committee within 120 days with a determination and a decision on the imposition of sanctions on that foreign person or persons.

The recent disappearance of Saudi journalist and Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi suggests that he could be a victim of a gross violation of internationally recognized human rights, which includes "torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges and trial, causing the disappearance of persons by the abduction and clandestine detention of those persons, and other flagrant denial of the right to life, liberty, or the security of person." Therefore, we request that you make a determination on the imposition of sanctions pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act with respect to any foreign person responsible for such a violation related to Mr. Khashoggi. Our expectation is that in making your determination you will consider any relevant information, including with respect to the highest ranking officials in the Government of Saudi Arabia.

## **BACKGROUND**

Under the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act, the president, upon receipt of a letter from the chairman and ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, must make a determination and is authorized to impose sanctions with respect to a foreign person responsible for extrajudicial killings, torture, or other gross violations of internationally recognized human rights violations against individuals who seek to obtain, exercise, defend, or promote human rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression.

###

# EXHIBIT 20

# White House refuses to meet Congress' deadline on Khashoggi killing

By [Nicole Gaouette](#) and [Kevin Liptak](#), CNN

Updated 2:55 PM EST, Sat February 9, 2019



NYT: Crown Prince threatened to use bullet on journalist



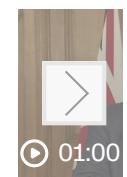
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**(CNN) —** President Donald Trump refused to meet a legal mandate Friday to tell Congress whether the White House thinks Saudi Arabia's crown prince is personally responsible for the murder of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

"The President maintains his discretion to decline to act on congressional committee requests when appropriate," a senior administration official told CNN.

The White House decision came a day after an explosive [New York Times report](#) that cited US and foreign officials with direct knowledge of intelligence reports who say that Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman told a top aide in 2017 that he would use “a bullet” on Khashoggi.

The senior administration official said “the State Department updates Congress regularly on the status of actions related to the killing of Jamal Khashoggi,” the former royal court insider who became one of bin Salman’s most vocal critics.

## **’The law is clear’**

Saudi Arabia has admitted that the father of four’s killing in Istanbul was premeditated and carried out by a group of men in the prince’s inner circle. The [Washington Post](#) [has reported](#) that the CIA has concluded that bin Salman “ordered” the killing. The Kingdom continues to deny the crown prince had any involvement in the effort.

The White House refusal to meet the legal requirement by Friday’s deadline is likely to heighten anger on both sides of the aisle in Congress, where Khashoggi’s killing has galvanized lawmakers who are increasingly intent on pushing back against Trump’s defense of the Kingdom.

Indeed, the immediate reaction from Congress was unequivocal.



**RELATED ARTICLE** [NYT: Saudi Crown Prince said he would use 'a bullet' on Khashoggi](#)

“The law is clear,” said Juan Pachon, spokesman for the Democratic side of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. “The President has no discretion here. He’s either complying with the law

or breaking it."

The Global Magnitsky Act gives the President 120 days to determine whether a foreign individual is responsible for extrajudicial killings and report the findings to Congress as well as whether the President intends to impose sanctions on that person.

A National Security Council source insisted that the administration is under "no legal obligation" to respond, but added that the State Department would send a letter to Congress on Friday. The source did not disclose the contents of that letter.

And the senior administration official defended Trump's decision not to meet Friday's deadline, saying that the US was "the first country to take significant measures, including visa actions and sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act, against those responsible for this heinous act."

"Consistent with the previous Administration's position and the constitutional separation of powers, ... the US Government will continue to consult with Congress and work to hold accountable those responsible for Jamal Khashoggi's killing," the official said.

Later in the day, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo sent Senate Foreign Relations chairman James Risch, an Idaho Republican, and the ranking Democrat on the committee, Robert Menendez of New Jersey, letters that appeared to lay out administration talking points.

"I received a letter today from Secretary Pompeo which describes the actions taken by the administration to sanction individuals involved in the murder of Jamal Khashoggi and expresses their ongoing efforts to seek justice," Risch said in a statement. "I anticipate a more detailed briefing from the administration on this issue and look forward to working with them and the members of my committee in our ongoing effort to address the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. Legislation has been introduced on this issue in both the House and Senate, with more to come."

Later Friday, Menendez released his own statement, which said in part:

"I am very disappointed that the response from Secretary Pompeo doesn't come close to fulfilling the statutory mandate and demonstrates what the administration has wanted all along – the Khashoggi murder to be forgotten. I will continue to push for the President to fully hold accountable those responsible for the death of Mr. Khashoggi and to uphold United States laws."

On Saturday, Texas Republican Rep. Michael McCaul, who serves on the House Foreign Affairs committee, issued a statement saying he was "deeply troubled" by the letter.

"The letter does not meet the requirements of the 'Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act', which were invoked by letters from the bipartisan leaders of the House and Senate foreign policy committees last October," McCaul said in the statement.

McCaul called on the Trump administration to “immediately comply with the requirements of the law, and to provide Congress with the information required.”

## **'A huge, huge mistake'**

The Saudi minister of state for foreign affairs, Adel al-Jubeir, told reporters in Washington Friday that Khashoggi’s murder was a “horrific crime” and a “huge, huge mistake,” but insinuated that there has been an unfair focus on this specific case driven, in part, by politics.

“You have had so many journalists murdered in the last year,” Jubeir said, when asked about criticism from lawmakers. “Are they going to legislate sanctions against all countries where these journalists have been killed?”

“Mistakes happen,” Jubeir told journalists, adding that an internal investigation into the killing is ongoing. “Those responsible will be held accountable.”



Foreign Ministry  

@KSAmofaEN

#WashingtonDC | Minister of State for Foreign Affairs  
@AdelAljubeir: "We will hold who are responsible for the  
death of Khashoggi to account"

1:33 PM · Feb 8, 2019 

266

392 people are Tweeting about this

The Saudi Foreign Ministry tweeted later on Friday quoting Jubeir and stating that “We will hold who are responsible for the death of Khashoggi to account.”

That is unlikely to assuage Congress, where the President’s decision looks set to draw even more scrutiny to links between Trump, his family and Saudi Arabia. The administration has stressed its reliance on Riyadh as a strategic partner for their Middle Eastern goals – checking Iran, funding an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal and countering ISIS.

But questions remain about [financial benefits](#) Trump may have gained through Saudi Arabia’s royal family and [the relationship](#) between bin Salman and Jared Kushner, the President’s son-in-law and senior adviser.

Both Democrats and Republicans supported the Global Magnitsky Act request on Khashoggi and bin Salman that Trump refused to answer Friday.

On Friday, lawmakers – furious about the brazen murder and deeply concerned about the fallout from the devastating Saudi-led war in Yemen – again worked in bipartisan fashion to introduce legislation that would require mandatory sanctions on those responsible for Khashoggi’s death, prohibit certain weapons sales to Saudi Arabia and report on human rights within the Kingdom.

#### RELATED VIDEO

How US arms end up in the wrong hands in Yemen

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Concerns about the destabilizing impact of Saudi Arabia’s war in Yemen have only deepened with the publication of a CNN report that shows Riyadh and its coalition partners have transferred weapons sent by the US to al Qaeda-linked fighters, hardline militias and that they’ve found their way into the hands of rebels backed by Iran.

Sen. Lindsey Graham, a South Carolina Republican and usually a staunch Trump supporter, is a cosponsor of the legislation introduced Friday.

## **‘Beyond toxic’**

“I firmly believe there will be strong bipartisan support for serious sanctions against Saudi Arabia for this barbaric act which defied all civilized norms,” Graham said in a statement. “While Saudi Arabia is a strategic ally, the behavior of the Crown Prince – in multiple ways – has shown disrespect for the relationship and made him, in my view, beyond toxic.”

"I fully realize we have to deal with bad actors and imperfect situations on the international stage," Graham said. "However, when we lose our moral voice, we lose our strongest asset."

**RELATED ARTICLE** Saudi crown prince's 'fit' delays UN resolution on war in Yemen

Menendez said it was time to re-evaluate the relationship with Saudi Arabia and the coalition it leads.

"Seeing as the Trump Administration has no intention of insisting on full accountability for Mr. Khashoggi's murderers, it is time for Congress to step in and impose real consequences to fundamentally reexamine our relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and with the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen," Menendez said.

The new bill builds on the first act of broad bipartisan pushback against Trump in December, when the Senate passed a resolution condemning the crown prince for Khashoggi's murder.

Just prior to passing the resolution by a voice vote, the Senate also overwhelmingly approved a resolution by a 56-41 vote that would require the US to end its military support for the Saudi-led war in Yemen, a move that was also meant to express anger at the Trump administration's handling of relations with Saudi Arabia.

It was, up to that point, the most significant break within Congress toward Saudi Arabia in decades and the firmest response from Capitol Hill since the Khashoggi murder in October.

CNN's Kylie Atwood, Sophie Tatum, Ryan Browne, Michelle Kosinski, Jennifer Hansler and Zachary Cohen contributed to this report.

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# EXHIBIT 21



## **Khashoggi killing: UN human rights expert says Saudi Arabia is responsible for “premeditated execution”**

GENEVA (19 June 2019) – Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi was the victim of a premeditated extrajudicial execution, for which the State of Saudi Arabia is responsible, according to a [report](#) published today by the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary killings.

Following a six-month investigation, Agnes Callamard issued her findings into the killing last October of Mr Khashoggi at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, analyzing evidence on the basis of international human rights law, and considering steps that could have prevented his murder.

“The circumstances of Mr Khashoggi’s death have led to numerous theories and allegations, but none alters the responsibility of the Saudi Arabia State,” the report reads. “Saudi state agents, 15 of them, acted under cover of their official status and used state means to execute Mr. Khashoggi.

“His killing was the result of elaborate planning involving extensive coordination and significant human and financial resources. It was overseen, planned and endorsed by high-level officials. It was premeditated.”

The report cites six violations of international law:

- the prohibition against arbitrary deprivation of life, a fundamental principle of international law;
- the prohibition against extraterritorial use of force as enshrined in the UN Charter;
- the requirement that states use consular missions for official purposes;
- the prohibition against torture, under the terms of the Convention Against Torture, ratified by Saudi Arabia, and;
- the prohibition against enforced disappearance, and;
- in killing a journalist, the State of Saudi Arabia committed an act inconsistent with a core tenet of the United Nations, the protection of freedom of expression.

“The killing of Mr Khashoggi thus constitutes an international crime over which other States should claim universal jurisdiction. I call on those States to take the necessary measures to establish their competence to exercise jurisdiction under international law over this crime of extrajudicial execution,” Callamard said.

The Special Rapporteur also determined that there was credible evidence, warranting further investigation of high-level Saudi officials’ individual liability, including that of the Crown Prince.

Following the execution of Mr Khashoggi, the report notes that Saudi Arabia took timid steps towards addressing its obligations, but that four more violations have taken place:

- the responsibility to investigate, effectively, transparently, and in good faith;
- the duty of international cooperation in investigation of unlawful death;
- fair trial guarantees; and
- the obligation of non-repetition.

Callamard called on the Human Rights Council, the Security Council or the UN Secretary-General to conduct an international follow-up criminal investigation for the purpose of determining individual liability and identifying options towards judicial accountability.

The report stated that it was troubling that to date the execution of Mr Khashoggi had been met with so few effective international responses, whether legal, political or diplomatic although a number of States had issued targeted sanctions against Saudi officials.

"These must continue. They are important but insufficient. The crime committed was a State killing. These particular sanctions against 17 or more individuals act as a smokescreen, diverting attention away from State responsibility," the report reads. "The current sanctions also fail to address the central questions of chain of command and of senior leadership's responsibilities for and associated with the execution."

The report also called on Saudi Arabia to release all individuals imprisoned for the peaceful expression of their opinion and belief; **and to undertake an in-depth assessment of the actors, institutions and circumstances that made it possible for the execution of Mr Khashoggi.**

The report also includes a range of recommendations addressed to Turkey and the United States, as well as to Member States generally and corporate actors. She further recommends the establishment of new mechanisms at UN level to strengthen the prevention and criminal investigation of targeted killings. The Special Rapporteur is very grateful to the Government of Turkey for its good will and cooperation.

ENDS

**Ms. Agnes Callamard** (France), *Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, has a distinguished career in human rights and humanitarian work globally. Ms. Callamard is the Director of Columbia Global Freedom of Expression at Columbia University and has previously worked with Article 19 and Amnesty International. She has advised multilateral organizations and governments around the world, has led human rights investigations in more than 30 countries, and has published extensively on human rights and related fields.*

*UN Human Rights, Country Page: [Turkey, Saudi Arabia](#)*

*For more information and media requests, please contact: In Geneva: Alessandro Marra (+41 22 928 93 21 / [amarra@ohchr.org](mailto:amarra@ohchr.org)) or write to [eje@ohchr.org](mailto:eje@ohchr.org)*

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## EXHIBIT 22

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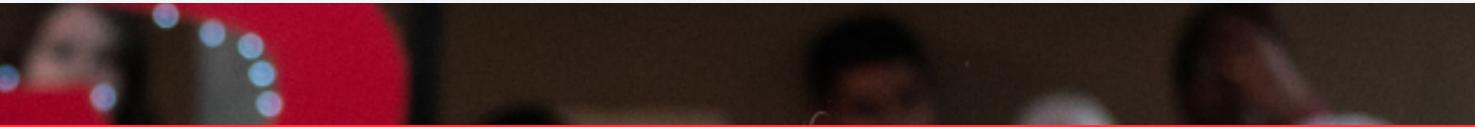
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# ANNIVERSARY OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI'S MURDER—STATEMENT BY VICE PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN

Two years ago, Saudi operatives, reportedly acting at the direction of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, murdered and dismembered Saudi dissident, journalist, and U.S. resident Jamal Khashoggi. His offense — for which he paid with his life — was criticizing the policies of his government. Today, I join many brave Saudi women and men, activists, journalists, and the international community in mourning Khashoggi's death and echoing his call for people everywhere to exercise their universal rights in freedom.

Jamal Khashoggi and his loved ones deserve accountability. Under a Biden-Harris administration, we will reassess our relationship with the Kingdom, end U.S. support for Saudi Arabia's war in Yemen, and make sure America does not check its values at the door to sell arms or buy oil. America's commitment to democratic values and human rights will be a priority, even with our closest security partners. I will defend the right of activists, political dissidents, and journalists around the world to speak their minds freely without fear of persecution and violence. Jamal's death will not be in vain, and we owe it to his memory to fight for a more just and free world.



Together we can make Donald Trump a one term President and defeat Republicans across the country.

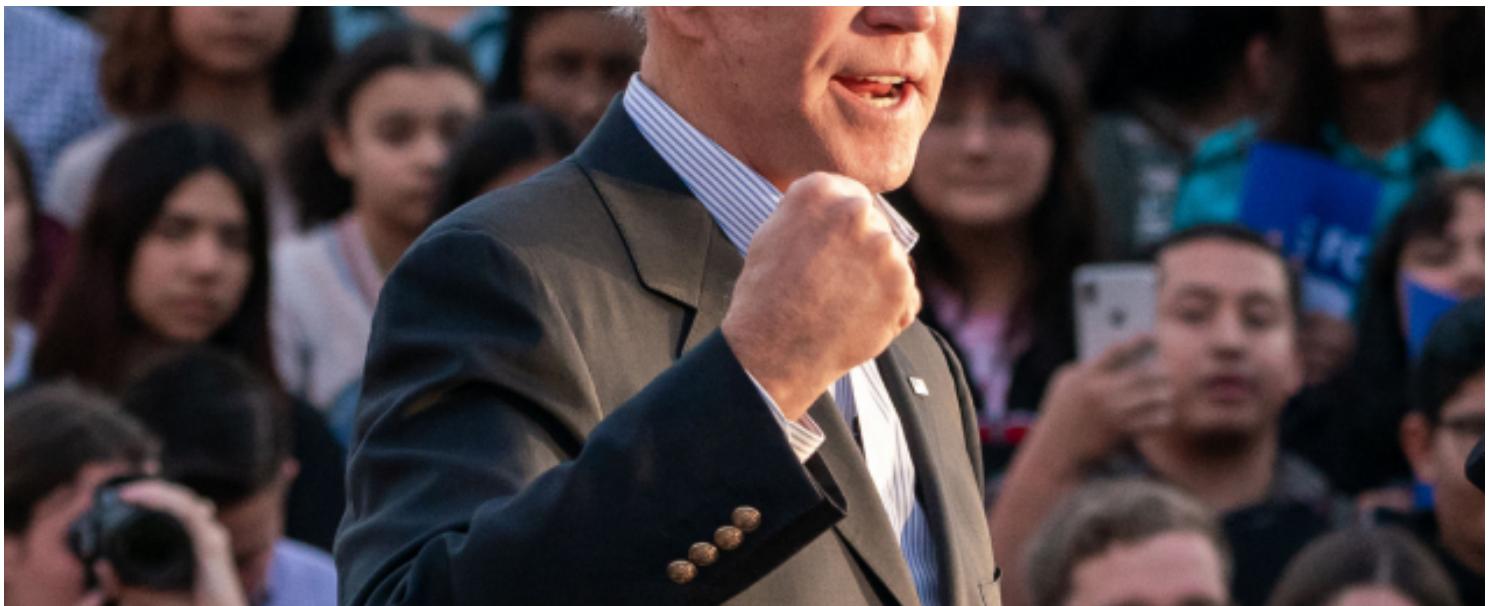
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# EXHIBIT 23

# Why the Arab World Needs Democracy Now

In April Jamal Khashoggi gave this speech, saying the dangerous idea of the benevolent autocrat, the just dictator, is being revived in the Arab world.

**By Jamal Khashoggi**

Mr. Khashoggi was a Saudi journalist.

Oct. 22, 2018

*Jamal Khashoggi, the Saudi Arabian journalist who was killed by Saudi agents inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul on Oct. 2, was the keynote speaker at a conference in April organized by the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Denver and the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Washington. Excerpts from his speech, edited for clarity and length, are below.*

I am from Saudi Arabia, where the issues of democracy and Islam are very much relevant. When a Saudi official wanted to brush away the question of democracy, in the past, he would always raise the question of whether democracy is compatible with Islam.

The debate about the relationship between Islam and democracy conclusively ended with the coming of the Arab Spring, when the people of the Arab world, — especially the youth, and even the Islamists, including some Salafis, who were always critical of democracy — supported the protests for democratic and political change. Other Salafis remained very critical of democracy, viewing it as “kufr,” or un-Islamic, based on the belief that democracy represents a rejection of religious values.

The long voting lines during the 2012 elections in Tunisia and Egypt clearly demonstrated that the people of the Arab world were ready for change. They enthusiastically participated in democratic elections, including Islamist parties that had often been the focus of the debate on Islam’s compatibility with democracy.

Those images from Egypt and Tunisia of men, women, young, and old going to the polls should be contrasted with the sham elections we see today in Egypt and in other parts of the Arab world. This is an argument we can use against anyone who might claim that “Arabs are not ready for democracy.”

Today, Saudi Arabia is struggling with different aspects of modernity — with cinemas, art, entertainment, mixing of the sexes, opening up to the world, rejecting radicalism. The tight grip that the religious establishment has had on social life is gradually loosening.

But while we’re pursuing all these forms of modernity, the Saudi leaders are still not interested in democracy, They aren’t advancing the old, lame excuse that democracy is not compatible with Islam, however. Instead, as Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman told Jeffrey Goldberg in The Atlantic they’re saying that absolute monarchy is our preferred form of government.

Indeed, we are living in the age of authoritarianism. Some people believe that it is a better form of political rule. They argue that societies need a great leader and that democracy will undermine the ability of the great leader to guide his people to a better future.

Today around a dinner table in Riyadh, Cairo or Amman, you are likely to hear intellectuals who were once considered liberals, who once supported liberty, political change and democracy, say, “Arabs are not ready for democracy.” If you push back against this argument, you would be told: “Even if Arabs are ready for democracy, they don’t know how to take advantage of it. They always make the wrong choice.”

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A related argument is, “The Islamists and the Muslim Brotherhood have kidnapped the Arab Spring.” In my country, a variant of this argument is: “The Saudis don’t know how to choose. If we have democracy, they will not vote out of their conscience, they will vote based on their tribal loyalties.”

A popular argument in the Arab world is that we need a strong leader. You can hear it in Egypt from an Egyptian businessman who supports the ruling regime. You can hear it from a doubtful Jordanian, maybe even a doubtful Tunisian who seeks a return to the old order.

A Saudi friend of mine who was raised abroad openly defends the term “benevolent autocracy.” He is prepared to write about the value of benevolent autocracy in an American newspaper and thinks it is the best choice for Saudi Arabia.

It is the old notion of the “mustabidu al-adl,” or the just dictator, that died with the rise of Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, a late-19th-century Arab-Muslim reformist of Syrian origin. The Arab and Muslim intellectuals who followed Kawakibi supported democracy or at least some variant of it.

Regrettably, though, the idea of the benevolent autocrat, the just dictator, is being revived in the Arab world. A chorus of anti-democratic Arab and non-Arab voices are using the media and the lobbyists to oppose democracy. I’m told that at the Riyadh International Book Fair in March, which I was not able to attend, one of the books on display was called “Against the Arab Spring.”

Democracy in the Arab world is also under attack from radical Islamists who are making a comeback as the so-called Islamic State or as the Salafis fighting in Libya alongside Khalifa Hifter (who was a general in Muammar Gaddafi’s army and is now backed by the United Arab Emirates and Egypt). They preach against democracy in the mosques — and through acts of violence.

We must reassure people in the Arab world who either have lost hope in democracy because of its perceived failures or because they fell victim to the concentrated propaganda about democracy coming from television networks run by states and the intellectuals aligned with them.

When I use the term “democracy” I mean it in the broader sense of the term that overlaps with values such as liberty, checks and balances, accountability and transparency. We were aiming for these goals in the form of good governance, equality, and justice in the Arab world. There is another reason we need democracy now in the Arab world: to stop mass violence.

Today, there are two kinds of Arab countries. Some countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco, need democracy for good governance and the checks and balances it brings.

But for war-torn countries like Libya, Syria and Yemen, democracy would lead to some form of power sharing. It can be along the lines of the Afghanistan arrangement, where you bring all of the factions in one huge room and force them into an agreement on how to share power. The chief reason the wars in these countries are continuing is the lack of a mechanism for power sharing.

The immediate need for Libya, Syria and Yemen is not good governance, but a mechanism to stop the killing. Inevitably, the question of good governance will emerge. There is great hope for democracy in other countries that have not been mired in civil or internal conflict, such as Tunisia, which is struggling toward a lasting democratic system.

Many of my Tunisian friends, despite the progress they have made, are also worried about democracy. They do not want to appear to be preaching to the rest of the Arab world. They simply want to be left alone. Yet I still think that Tunisians have an important responsibility.

News channels that are supportive of freedom and political change in the Middle East should spend a considerable amount of time covering even municipal elections in Tunisia. Every Saudi, every Egyptian and every Syrian should see what the Tunisians are enjoying. I hope it will inspire the rest of the Arab world to work for a similar form of government for themselves.

We need to defend the rights of the Arab people to have democracy in our own countries, in our own localities, but at the same time we must speak to foreign leaders, foreign powers and foreign parliamentarians. They have a role to play and many of them have begun to lose hope in the prospects of Arab democracy.

Some of them are now repeating the old racist statement, “Arabs are not ready for democracy [because they are Arabs].” The Trump administration has zero interest in supporting democracy in the Arab world. Even the French president, Emmanuel Macron, has suggested that there will be little political change in Egypt or in Saudi Arabia.

People are losing hope in democracy because of the failure of the Arab Spring revolts. They’re afraid of ending up like Syria. Many Arab regimes, their television networks, their writers, their commentators, are trying to scare people off democracy by actively promoting this idea.

Both Arab citizens and foreign leaders are affected by the limited reforms that Arab leaders are pursuing. In Saudi Arabia there are serious reforms that Prince Mohammed is leading. Many of my Saudi colleagues are saying I should support them. I do support them.

My position is that we should take what we have and build on it.

When Mr. Macron stood next to Prince Mohammed, he made this point and he was correct to do so. We need to support the crown prince in his effort to reform Saudi Arabia because if we let him down, he will come under pressure from radical elements who are not willing to reform.

These limited reforms and the general political condition of the Arab world today are adding strength to the argument of the anti-democracy forces. This unfortunate reality puts more responsibility on our shoulders to resume our work and to redouble our efforts to push for democracy in the Arab world as a realistic choice for people and a solution to the failure of many Arab states.

Jamal Khashoggi was a Washington Post Global Opinions contributing columnist.

# EXHIBIT 24

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# The crown prince doesn't listen to Saudis - why would he listen to Theresa May?

*Jamal Khashoggi and Robert Lacey*

Tue 6 Mar 2018 13.22 EST

*i*

In February 1945, over lunch in Cairo, the leaders of Great Britain and Saudi Arabia met face to face for the first time. Churchill was just concluding his stewardship of the allied victory in the second world war, while King Abdulaziz, the creator of modern

**I** Saudi Arabia, could savour his equally historic unification of the warring tribes of the Arabian peninsula. Often better known in the west as Ibn Saud, the Saudi monarch was the grandfather of the kingdom's de facto new ruler, Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who arrives in the UK on a [diplomatic visit](#) on Wednesday.

Saluting Ibn Saud's puritanical Wahhabi principles when they met, Churchill gracefully acknowledged that it was the "religion of his majesty to deprive himself of smoking and alcohol". But he made clear that his own rule of life "prescribes as an absolutely sacred rite of smoking cigars and also the drinking of alcohol before, after, and if need be during all meals and in the intervals between them". Let us hope that Theresa May is equally forthright in setting out Britain's cultural differences with the crown prince today, making clear Britain's belief in liberty of speech, freedom from arbitrary arrest, the independent rule of law, and the sacred principle that political leaders - be they monarchs or prime ministers - are not the masters, but merely servants of the people.



▲ King Abdulaziz with Churchill in Cairo in 1945. Photograph: Print Collector/Getty Images

These are principles for which the 32-year-old, familiarly known as MbS, has yet to show much enthusiasm. Several dozen intellectuals, religious scholars and journalists have been detained without trial in [Saudi Arabia](#) since last September - which is why MbS will meet the Queen safely inside the battlements of Windsor - a shift of venue

perhaps devised by the Foreign Office to protect him from exposure to demonstrations by human rights campaigners.

Back in those pre-Israel years, Churchill urged the staunchly anti-Zionist Saudi king to help to ease the general Arab welcome to the Jews in Palestine. Britain had subsidised the Saudi monarchy for 20 years before its discovery of oil, argued the prime minister, so a gesture towards the Jewish homeland was the least Saudi could offer to repay the debt. This was a crude wielding of the British “big stick”, in the opinion of Abdulaziz, when he later reported the discussion to the American minister in Jeddah.

Might May try such tough tactics as she seeks to persuade MbS to list or co-list his [£1.5tn flotation of Aramco shares through London next year](#) - or dare to inquire of the crown prince if he has secured his people’s approval for this massive sale of national assets? It does not seem likely. There are few big sticks left in the British armoury these days. So, if the prime minister proves no Churchill, what are the ways in which young Prince Mohammed might mirror his famous grandfather?

MbS has wasted no time deliberating like his predecessors over such issues as the [need for women to drive](#), or the urgency of curbing Islamic extremism and the hated religious police. He has just got on with it, in a whirlwind of decrees and government shake-ups that his energetic grandfather might well admire. Cinemas and entertainment centres will open their doors all over the kingdom in the coming months, and when it comes to business corruption, the young man has wasted no time locking up more than 300 suspects - albeit in Riyadh’s Ritz Carlton Hotel.

Reformer or rogue? Saudi crown prince Mohammed bin ...



03:18



predecessor to MbS's father, King Salman, made muffled noises about opening a percentage of seats to popular election. That talk has stopped abruptly with the advent of the crown prince, whose fierce and headstrong style both at home and abroad in his dealings with countries such as Qatar, Lebanon and, most tragically of all, [Yemen](#), defies all awareness of popular consultation.

▲ A lorry with a banner protesting against the visit by Prince Mohammed bin Salman in London on 5 March. Photograph: Matthew Chattle/Barcroft Images

Britain bears its own responsibility for the [13,000 people](#) who have been killed in Yemen since 2015, both as the legacy of its “master planning” of the Middle East a century ago, and through the current supplying of lethal weaponry to the Saudi-backed coalition that is fighting the Iranian-backed Houthi rebels. Away from Yemen, MbS has rowed back strongly from the kingdom’s previous support of Islamic extremism, so perhaps May can find common ground for Britain to try a little regional peace-making.

For his domestic reform programme, the crown prince deserves praise. But at the same time, the brash and abrasive young innovator has not encouraged or permitted any popular debate in Saudi Arabia about the nature of his many changes. He appears to be moving the country from old-time religious extremism to his own “You-must-accept-my-reform” extremism, without any consultation - accompanied by arrests and the disappearance of his critics.

So, does his programme lack the most important reform of all - democracy? The crown prince is proposing to impose Saudi Arabia’s first modern taxes as part of his economic strategy in the face of stagnant oil prices - a very brave and necessary move. But he seems oblivious to the need for any popular discussion or consent to accompany that. “No taxation without representation” is an inflexible lesson of history that Britain has learned the hard way, and May would be doing her guest a great favour to remind him politely of it.

• [Jamal Khashoggi](#) was media adviser to the Saudi ambassador in the UK. Now self-exiled in the US, he writes for the Washington Post. Robert Lacey is the author of *The Kingdom - Arabia and the House of Saud*

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# EXHIBIT 25

# The Washington Post

*Democracy Dies in Darkness*

## Saudi Arabia wasn't always this repressive. Now it's unbearable.

Opinion by **Jamal Khashoggi**

September 18, 2017 at 11:08 a.m. CDT

*Jamal Khashoggi is a Saudi journalist and author.*

When I speak of the fear, intimidation, arrests and public shaming of intellectuals and religious leaders who dare to speak their minds, and then I tell you that I'm from Saudi Arabia, are you surprised?

With young Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's rise to power, he promised an embrace of social and economic reform. He spoke of making our country more open and tolerant and promised that he would address the things that hold back our progress, such as the ban on women driving.

But all I see now is the recent wave of arrests. Last week, about 30 people were reportedly rounded up by authorities, ahead of the crown prince's ascension to the throne. Some of the arrested are good friends of mine, and the effort represents the public shaming of intellectuals and religious leaders who dare to express opinions contrary to those of my country's leadership. The scene was quite dramatic as masked security men stormed houses with cameras, filming everything and confiscating papers, books and computers. The arrested are accused of being recipients of Qatari money and part of a grand Qatari-backed conspiracy. Several others, myself included, are in self-exile and could face arrest upon returning home.

It anguishes me to speak with other Saudi friends in Istanbul and London who are also in self-exile. There are at least seven of us — are we going to be the core of a Saudi diaspora? We spend endless hours on the phone trying to understand this wave of arrests that have included my friend, businessman and thoughtful Twitter personality Essam Al-Zamil. It was just last Tuesday that he returned home from the United States, having been part of an official Saudi delegation. That is how breathtakingly fast you can fall out of favor with Saudi Arabia. It is all quite shocking. But this has not been business as usual in my country.

In 2003 and again in 2010, I was fired from my job as editor in chief of a "progressive" paper, Al-Watan. During the years in between, I served as media adviser to Prince Turki al-Faisal, the Saudi ambassador to Britain and then the United States. Perhaps it seems odd to be fired by the government and then serve it abroad. Yet that is truly the Saudi paradox. In the starkest terms, Saudi Arabia is trying to moderate the extreme viewpoints of both liberal reformers and conservative clerics. And the arrests span that spectrum.

Why would this climate of fear and intimidation be so prevalent when a young, charismatic leader is promising long-awaited reforms to spur economic growth and diversify our economy? The crown prince is popular, and his reform plan was supported by most of the 30 clerics, writers and social media superstars who were rounded up in the middle of the night.

In recent months, Saudi Arabia has instituted several new and extreme policies, from full-throated opposition of Islamists to encouraging citizens to name others to a government blacklist. Those arrested were on that list. Columnists close to the Saudi leadership repeatedly demanded that Islamists be “eradicated.” It’s no secret that the crown prince despises the Muslim Brotherhood, yet it is actually a strange contradiction to identify a person as a Muslim Brotherhood activist. I always found it ironic when a Saudi official bashes Islamists, given that Saudi Arabia is the mother of all political Islam — and even describes itself as an Islamic state in its “ Higher Law.” (We avoid the term “constitution” because of its secular interpretation and often say that the Koran is our constitution.)

Regardless of who is being targeted, this is not what Saudi Arabia needs right now. We are going through a major economic transformation that is supported by the people, a transformation that will free us from total dependence on oil and restore a culture of work and production.

This is a very painful process. Mohammed bin Salman is best served by encouraging constructive, diverse opinions from public figures such as Essam and other economists, clerics, intellectuals and business people who have instead been swept up in these arrests.

My friends and I living abroad feel helpless. We want our country to thrive and to see [the 2030 vision](#) realized. We are not opposed to our government and care deeply about Saudi Arabia. It is the only home we know or want. Yet we are the enemy. Under pressure from my government, the publisher of one of the most widely read Arabic dailies, Al-Hayat, canceled my column. The government banned me from Twitter when I cautioned against an overly enthusiastic embrace of then-President-elect Donald Trump. So I spent six months silent, reflecting on the state of my country and the stark choices before me.

It was painful for me several years ago when several friends were arrested. I said nothing. I didn’t want to lose my job or my freedom. I worried about my family.

I have made a different choice now. I have left my home, my family and my job, and I am raising my voice. To do otherwise would betray those who languish in prison. I can speak when so many cannot. I want you to know that Saudi Arabia has not always been as it is now. We Saudis deserve better.

#### **Read this version in Arabic:**

[السعودية لم تكن قمعية إلى هذا الحد. حاليا غير محتملة.](#)

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# Only democracy can stop bloodshed





Jamal Khashoggi

Sunday 12 June 2016

Text size A A A

Democracy is passing through difficult times. In its latest edition, London-based weekly *The Economist* has dedicated several pages discussing the various dimensions of the crisis facing democracy. It established that there is a growing lack of confidence in democracy and suggested a number of steps to improve it so that people's faith in it is restored and good governance is achieved.

Democracy remains the most effective way to tackle terror, stop bloodshed and political violence in Arab countries. When the West deals with the crisis of democracy, it does so by tracking voting trends that are backing a reckless politician like Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump. Western countries are adept at finding the reasons behind low voter turnout in elections or to determine why people are unhappy with the parliament's performance.

While western countries are examining what can be done to revive democracy and to grapple with transformation amid communication revolution, Arab countries like Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen are in deep need of democracy to be able to survive and to stop bloodshed that has killed hundreds of thousands.

Arab citizens are losing faith in democracy even though it has been at the forefront of their demands. In Iraq, for example, demonstrators' attack on Parliament clearly indicated the failure of democracy. It was followed by the chaos of demonstrations called by Iraqi cleric Muqtada al- Sadr, demanding political reform.

***“While western countries are examining what can be done to revive democracy and to grapple with transformation amid communication revolution, Arab countries like Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen are in deep need of democracy to be able to survive”***

“Jamal Khashoggi”

Unfortunately, the failure of democracy in Iraq will become an excuse for the opponents of democracy. An enthusiast for tyranny would claim that Arab countries cannot be ruled by democracy, while a so-called liberal will insist that people must be prepared and be educated about it. Such opponents of democracy have a strong case now which is the failure of the creation of a viable democratic regime in Iraq.

## Old regimes

In fact, the opponents of democracy do not have any other alternative for these countries. They only want restoration of old Arab regimes which collapsed in 2011 after being in power for more than half a century.

They believe old regimes can restore security and stability as they compare the current situation with that of the one-man rules such as that of former Libyan leader Qaddafi or former Egyptian president Husni Mubarak. The use of hashtag "bring back Husni Mubarak" is an example. It clearly reflects the aspirations of some Egyptian people who once thought that breaking free from the cycle of misery, joblessness and tyranny of the regime can only be achieved by getting rid of the head of state.

The idea that only democracy can stop bloodshed should be spread while at the same time regional players should be convinced against the idea of restoring old regimes. Yemenis and Syrians want democracy and exchange of power but such sentences are only found in constitutions of Arab republics and have not been applicable on the ground.

Iraq's new constitution is theoretically a model but has not delivered democracy or respect for the rule of law and human rights. Arab democracy project shall be sponsored by stable Arab countries even if they were not democratic. This must look like a contradiction but do we have a better alternative than this absurd tendency to advocate restoration of old Arab regimes?

One day bloodshed will eventually stop in Arab countries and we should be ready to enable the transformation process and promote stability. When the battle ends, we will find demolished towns and fragmented communities divided along religious, ethnic and regional lines. There won't be a united national army but several militias and no tyrant who prevails by force. The solution would be to impose democracy under international umbrella, to prevent disagreements and to pave the way for the return of federal governments.

Let us take the Libyan example; all attempts to establish stability without democracy have not achieved results. After two years of violence that has almost ruined the country, a large section of the Libyan people is now convinced that democracy, based on consensus and participation, is the only solution under the umbrella of the United Nations.

This solution is needed for other Arab countries as well. They should be aware that supporting one party to impose its control over the rest of the country will lead to more failures in the future. Experience has shown that violence has prevented one party or the other from achieving a decisive victory.

Once the war is over, the greatest support that Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries can provide to Yemen is not making it a member of the GCC, nor a Marshall plan or even billions worth of grant, but by helping it establish democratic mechanism regulating peaceful exchange of power and gathering different parties in a constituent assembly. The same should be implemented in Syria and Iraq. The details could vary but the essence of democracy remains the same.

Stabilizing democracy and driving people to believe in it is the only way forward for peace. After accomplishing this, we should work to develop and rebuild the nation. Stopping bloodshed should be the priority at the moment.

This article first appeared in **Al Hayat** on June 11, 2016.

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Jamal Khashoggi is a Saudi journalist, columnist, author, and general manager of the upcoming Al Arab News Channel. He previously served as a media aide to Prince Turki al Faisal while he was Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States. Khashoggi has written for various daily and weekly Arab newspapers, including Asharq al-Awsat, al-Majalla and al-Hayat, and was editor-in-chief of the Saudi-based al-Watan. He was a foreign correspondent in Afghanistan, Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan, and other Middle Eastern countries. He is also a political commentator for Saudi-based and international news channels. Twitter: [@JKhashoggi](#)

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